

being made to switch just enough votes to assure the amendment's passage.

Mr. President, I was absent from the Senate today in order to be a pallbearer at a funeral in Tahlequah, Okla. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes" on the vote to table the Shumer amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Y2K

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I regret that, earlier today, I was compelled to vote against the Majority Leader's cloture motion with respect to S. 96, the Y2K litigation reform bill. I did so, however, for the simple reason that I believe it is vitally important that the Senate first complete its business on the juvenile justice bill before moving on to other business. We are on the verge of finishing our work on this much-needed legislation, and it would have been, in my opinion, a grotesque waste of time and effort to simply throw that away in some artificial rush to proceed to the Y2K bill. Despite my vote, I look forward to having the opportunity to turn our attention to the Y2K litigation problem as soon as we have finished our work on the issue of youth crime and violence.

Mr. LEAHY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

WILLIAM SAFIRE'S ARTICLE ON CHINA

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, yesterday, in the New York Times, William Safire had an essay called "Cut the Apologies." I am shortly going to ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD. It perhaps says some things beyond what I might, but I am concerned. I have watched what has happened and the reactions of China to the accidental bombing of their Embassy in Belgrade. I hold no brief for the totally negligent—I might even say stupid—mistake made in the bombing of that Embassy. It is as inexcusable and unexplainable as the maps that brought about the death of the people in the cable car in northern Italy.

Having said that, however, for the Chinese, who will not allow any kind of demonstrations—and haven't since Tiananmen Square—criticizing their own government, to whip people into a frenzy and let them go and destroy much of our Embassy and the British Embassy in Beijing, and to say how shocked they are that this is going on, and that we have done that, demanding all kinds of apologies, frankly, is irresponsible and unimaginable. I can't accept it. I don't know how many people would.

If the Chinese think that by doing this somehow we are now going to jump in and let them join the WTO and everything else, that is a sad mistake.

Their conduct is incomprehensible. We have apologized for bombing the Embassy, which we would expect somebody to do with a similar mistake damaging ours. This is a war going on, and things happen, as General Schwarzkopf said, in the fog of war.

China is not the one to lecture the world on free and open demonstrations. China is not the one to lecture us on how we should conduct our economy. China has a great deal to explain on everything from their attempt to steal our secrets, spying on our country, and human rights violations in their own country and their own repression.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Safire's column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 17, 1999]

CUT THE APOLOGIES

(By William Safire)

WASHINGTON.—After a week of whipping hatred of Americans by accusing us of deliberately murdering Chinese journalists in Belgrade, President Jiang Zemin Deigned to accept a call from The Great Apologizer.

For the fifth time, President Clinton apologized, expressed regrets, sent condolences, kowtowed and groveled, begging to be believed that we did not bomb China's embassy on purpose.

But it is America that is owed an apology. After an accident of war, we have been falsely accused of killing Chinese with malice aforethought. That is a great insult, compounded by the calculated trashing of our embassy by a bused-in mob encouraged by police.

The truth is that Beijing's leaders, worried about demonstrations on the 10th anniversary next month of the Tiananmen massacre, are milking this mistake for all it is worth.

By lying about our intent and suppressing coverage of our prompt admission of error, the nervous rulers are diverting their people's anger toward us and away from themselves.

By demanding we investigate the accident, they seek to water down the current Congressional investigations of their nuclear spying—a series of penetrations of our laboratories and political campaigns that was no accident.

By making Clinton beg forgiveness, they are able to cancel human rights talks while extracting new trade concessions. The deal: they will accept Clinton's apologies when he caves in on their application to the World Trade Organizations.

No wonder that no reputable diplomat would accept the President's pleas to replace our fed-up ambassador in Beijing. Clinton is now trying to appoint an admiral whose amiable association with the Chinese military and U.S. arms contractors will be closely examined by the Senate.

Though Clinton is softer than ever on China, he's taken a hard line in resisting Congress's investigations into Beijing's penetration of our nuclear labs and our political process. His latest trick: the improper use of documents submitted for intelligence declassification to prepare advance refutations of evidence of security lapses.

The White House has delayed for four months the three-volume report on security laxity by the House select committee headed by Representative Chris Cox. Clinton spinners are already distributing a packet of reprints of derogations by offended scientists, China-defenders and favorite journalists.

Cox has used the "clearance" delay to rewrite the turgid prose and to enliven the report with photographs and diagrams showing what missiles and satellites were stolen; that might even awaken television interest.

The Senate Intelligence Committee, headed by Richard Shelby and Robert Kerrey, is not about to hold still for the abuse of clearance. After it submitted one of its reports on nuclear lab laxity for review to protect intelligence sources, it learned of a refutation of that bipartisan report in work by the National security Council response machine.

The White House was told that the submission of documents was for security clearance only. It was not to be used for (a) advance policy review so that "rapid response" would occur in the same news cycle as the reports' release, or for (b) leakage of portions to the press for "inoculation" to later reduce its impact as "old news."

The intelligence business is not the publicity business. National security reports are not to be equated with the Starr report about hanky-panky. The Shelby committee made plain to the Berger Rapid-Apology Center that if this undermining of inter-branch comity did not stop forthwith, "we're going to zero out the N.S.C. staff budget." (By withholding some \$15 million, Congress could force the spinners onto the Department of Defense payroll or cause agonizing layoffs in the White House basement).

In both House and Senate, bipartisan committees are discovering serious intelligence weaknesses: too little analysis of too much collection. "If there's a flare-up in Iraq, North Korea or the Andes," worries an investigator, "we could not handle it and Kosovo, too."

The most troubling breakdown is in counterespionage. The F.B.I. and C.I.A., which are not blameless, are telling Congress the weakest link is the Department of Justice. What began as corrupt political protection became dangerous national security laxity. Who will apologize for that?

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

VIOLENT AND REPEAT JUVENILE OFFENDER ACCOUNTABILITY AND REHABILITATION ACT OF 1999

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Lott (for Allard) amendment No. 351, to allow the erecting of an appropriate and constitutional permanent memorial on the campus of any public school to honor students and teachers who have been murdered at the school and to allow students, faculty, and administrative staff of a public school to hold an appropriate and constitutional memorial service on their campus to honor students and teachers who have been murdered at their school.

Kohl/Hatch/Chafee amendment No. 352, to amend chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, to require the provision of a secure gun storage or safety device in connection with the transfer of a handgun.

Hatch/Feinstein amendment No. 353, authorizing funds for programs to combat gang violence.